

Strikes, insubordination, theft and disobedience. Between the rebellion of Angata and Rapanui struggles for civil rights. Forms of indigenous resistance on Rapa Nui (1917-1936)

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After the demise of the indigenous rebellion in 1914, the Rapanui community began a campaign of active resistance against attempts to mold their ways of life to new socio-political patterns and norms. Their constant and varied practices to undermine and disregard the authority of the State and the functionaries of the “Compañía Explotadora de Isla de Pascua” (CEDIP) became significant obstacles for colonial powers, as well as marking the beginnings of the struggles for Rapanui civil rights in the 1960s.

Luego de la derrota de la rebelión indígena de 1914, la comunidad Rapanui opuso una activa resistencia a las sucesivas tentativas por amoldarla al nuevo marco social y político. El desarrollo de permanentes y variadas prácticas de desconocimiento de las autoridades estatales y de los funcionarios de la “Compañía Explotadora de Isla de Pascua” (CEDIP), constituyó así un continuo escollo para la acción de los poderes coloniales, a la vez que un importante antecedente del proceso de luchas reivindicativas por los derechos civiles Rapanui de los años 60s.

Introduction

From the 1890s onwards, the Rapanui faced a new social and political reality on the island; one characterized by the significant consolidation of colonial forces (Cristino et al. 1984; Estella 1920). In the decade prior to this change, under the administration of Alexander Salmón and the “Compañía Brander”, the demands of livestock production had been somewhat compatible with the spaces of political autonomy that indigenous peoples had conserved. For instance, patterns of livestock production had been compatible with an indigenous power structure based on an “ethnic king”. However, from the 1890s forward, those kinds of spaces became increasingly closed-in and corralled. Thus, towards the end of the 19th century, the Rapanui community became increasingly concentrated and virtually contained within Hanga Roa, while socio-economic patterns of livestock production became more restrictive (Cristino et al. 1984; Fischer 2001; Hotus et al. 1988; McCall 1976, 1980). During this period, the concentration of political power also crystallized in the figure of the *Subdelegado Marítimo*, or Maritime Sub-Delegate. This figure was at once the political administrator of the island while also, after the creation of “La Compañía Explotadora de Isla de Pascua” of Merlet (future property of the British firm Williamson & Balfour), the administrator of the company as well.¹

Thus, the rebellion of 1914 occurred within this new, post-1890s, political and social context. An important rebellion against the Chilean colonial presence on the island, it was led by Rapanui indigenous and religious leader, María Angata. This uprising, which for the indigenous population constituted a direct challenge to the establishment of the new colonial regimen being imposed on the island, was also the last direct and open rebellion against these new forms of colonial rule. Inspired by mystical or messianic Christian discourses, Angata and her followers successfully threw into question the very foundations of foreign presence, while also taking control of the island and corraling in the CEDIP administrator on his lands in Mataverí. Their rebellion declared, among other things, total sovereignty over the island by islanders, and demanded the return of livestock and other property then in the hands of the Company (Castro Flores 2006; Cristino et al. 1984; Estella 1920; Routledge 1919; Stambuk 2010; Van Tilburg 2003). No action of this scale or type would occur again on the island in the decades following the 1914 rebellion, and until at least the 1960s.

As discussed previously, the traditional Rapanui way of life underwent important transformations at the end of the 19th century. These transformations brought, as a consequence, new patterns of social and political relations on the island. While valuable studies

exist that focus on the period stretching from the first contacts between the Rapanui and Europeans in the 18th century up to the establishment of intensive commercial regimens of livestock exploitation at the end of the 19th century, many of these have lacked a focus on salvaging and emphasizing the significant political role played by the Rapanui population during these years (Moreno Pakarati 2011).

“It’s a common error in the studies of Rapa Nui, to depict a passive island community in the face of the onslaught of modernity, colonialism, and the foreign exploiters of the island. The truth is that Rapanui society lived through an interesting evolution of their structures of political power, and rapid adaptations permitted them to confront these powers coming in from outside” (Moreno Pakarati 2011:53).

Moreover, the scarcity of documentation related to the years following the indigenous rebellion in 1914 have only made it more difficult to comprehend the diverse social and political processes occurring on the island during this time period (Moreno Pakarati 2011). This article, building from recent investigations on Rapanui society during the CEDIP period, presents new elements for analysis from this time period and moves towards a more profound characterization of the transformations of indigenous socio-political structures, while emphasizing the capacity of the Rapanui to both survive these transformations and actively respond to them.²

General Aspects of Rapanui Living Conditions

According to the census carried out by the Maritime Sub-Delegation between the years of 1926 and 1935, the indigenous Rapanui population rose from 356 to 454 inhabitants with a great part of the population involved in farming and livestock raising activities, either in family enterprises or as workers – temporary or permanent – in the Company (AIV 1926; AMM 1935). However, despite this growth, the majority of historical texts concur that the living conditions of the population during this era were very harsh. Without access to their ancestral lands, facing restrictions that prevented them from exploiting the island’s agriculture in any significant way, and struck by the periodic waves of illnesses brought by the arrival of new ships, the indigenous population faced a variety of shortages and many difficulties.

The suffering of the population did not escape the authorities on island. They described it in terms that implied a shared suffering, including their own. In 1926, Carlos Recabarren, the Maritime Sub-Delegate of Rapa Nui tells us the following:

“Sufre mucho él que suscribe, ver a tantas familias pobres; sus hijos desnudos y muchas veces sin comer por falta de trabajo y el tiempo malo. Ruego al Señor Director Jeneral del Territorio Marítimo de Valparaíso, pida a la Sociedad [...] una caridad para ésta Isla, tan abandonada de todo, espero así lo haga, anticipándole, los agradecimientos a nombre de la población” (AIV 1926).

[One who witnesses so many poor families suffers much; their naked children often go hungry for the lack of work and bad weather. I implore the General Director of the Maritime Territory of Valparaíso, to ask society... some charity for this island, which is so abandoned from everything and in the hope that he will do so, I advance the population’s gratitude.]

However, neither the supposed suffering of the authorities nor their periodic campaigns for charity during this period translated into palpable improvements in the islanders’ living conditions. Even during the years when no famines occurred, the situation of the indigenous population could be characterized as one of systematic abandonment by the government and public institutions (Santana et al. 2011).

Healthcare is a prime example of this abandonment. Aside from lacking a hospital or a medical professional on Rapa Nui, the constant requests by authorities on the island for treatment and medical supplies were also completely ignored. In 1928, after more than a year in this position and following many requests to his superiors in Chile, Recabarren himself bore the responsibility of satisfying the urgent medical needs of the islanders during his sporadic trips to Valparaíso. He wrote:

“[...] Cuando llegué del Continente, no había ningún remedio, muchos enfermos y muchos muertos. Me puse en campaña con la Policía, traje bastantes remedios y principié a entregar a las jentes y aplicar los remedios necesarios y combatir la fiebre que había; dando purgantes, [...], aspirina, yodo, algodón y muchos otros remedios. Se completó la botica con otro regalo más que dio la Cia Explotadora Isla de Pascua, unas pastillas que vienen de Norte America y que el año pasado también regalaron y que dieron mui buenos resultados, tanto para los leprosos como también para todos los habitantes de la Isla [...]” (AIV 1928b).

[... When I arrived from the continent, there were no remedies, but many sick and many dead. I embarked on a campaign with the police, I brought medicines and I started to distribute them among the people, applying the necessary treatments and fighting the fevers there were; administering purgatives... aspirin, iodine, cotton wool and many other remedies. The supplies were

complemented with another present donated by the Easter Island Exploitation Company: some pills from North America and which last year were also given and gave very good results, both for those with leprosy as well as the rest of the island's population...]

Eight years later, Rapa Nui was still lacking the most basic sanitary infrastructure. At that moment, the islanders achieved better results by supplying themselves with basic equipment. For example, Esteban Hito, a Rapanui, donated a "little house with two rooms" for the running of the island's first polyclinic. When the inexperienced practitioner and health supervisor, Adolfo Dussault, finally arrived, the Maritime Sub-Delegate Manuel Olaliqua related the importance of the Rapanui efforts and contributions:³

"[...] a su llegada a esta [se refiere a la isla] no se contaba con un local para la atención de los muchos enfermos que requerían sus servicios, por lo que tuve que colocarlo provisoriamente por 6 días, en el antiguo local de la Escuela, hasta que el nativo Esteban Hito cedió gratuitamente una casita de dos piezas, en donde el practicante pudo instalar su Policlínico [...] Con respecto a los servicios sanitarios, creo que sería conveniente para la Armada, designar una persona de mayor graduación que el sargento señor Dussaut, pues con ello se tendría una persona de mayores conocimientos profesionales [...]" (AMM 1936).

[... upon his arrival [to the island] there was no building available for the treatment of the many sick in need of his services, the reason for which I had to assign him provisionally, for six days, the building of the old school, until the native Esteban Hito freely granted a small two room house, where the practitioner could establish his polyclinic... with respect to the health services, I think it would be convenient for the Navy, to designate a person with more experience than Sergeant Dussaut, seeing as then we could have a more professionally experienced person...]

In the almost complete absence of public health policies, the most important "social conquest" of the "Temperamento Provisorio" (Provisional Temperament) of 1917 reached its most grotesque extreme with the construction of the leper colony. During the period of Maritime Sub-Delegate Exequiel Acuña, one of the medical reports by the doctor in charge of the *Baquedano* paints an image of the miserable conditions in which the people suffering from leprosy lived:

"[...] En cumplimiento a la comisión ordenada por Ud. con el objeto de averiguar el estado sanitario

de los leprosos y al mismo tiempo de investigar la sífilis en los habitantes de la Isla de Pascua, puedo informarle lo siguiente: La corta permanencia en la Isla, me ha permitido apenas realizar una rápida visita de inspección a la choza inmunda que han dado en llamar "Leprosería", donde pude constatar la vida de miserias que llevan estos infelices, por demás ya conocida de todos nosotros [...] Sin embargo, la suerte parece favorecer a estos tristes desgraciados y la lepra que, antes ofrecía al "médico visitante" el aspecto repugnante de sus ulceraciones en completo abandono, se presenta por el contrario ante el médico visitante de ahora, con caracteres de cicatrización en la mayoría de los casos. Talvez esto sea un ligero consuelo, para esta desgraciada jente, que por sus condiciones de inteligencia y sumisión, son dignos de una mas humana preocupación por parte de nuestras autoridades [...]" (AMM 1921c).

[... In fulfillment of the investigation ordered by yourself and with the objective of evaluating the sanitary conditions of those suffering from leprosy and at the same time evaluating syphilis among the inhabitants of Easter Island, I can report the following: a short stay on the island has barely allowed me to undertake a quick inspection of the filthy hut they have deemed a "leper colony", where I was able to witness the wretched lives of these people, already known to us... However, luck seems to favor these miserable people and the leprosy, which previously offered to the "visiting doctor" the repulsive aspect of their completely neglected ulcerations. On the contrary, the condition presented to the newly visiting doctor, is characterized by the formation of scar tissue in the majority of cases. Perhaps this acts as minor consolation to these dejected people, who with their intelligent and submissive condition, are deserving of more human concern on behalf of our authorities...]

Similarly, in the case of another important institution, the condition of the public school in 1926 was described as: "[...] una pieza de madera en mui mal estado con 2 puertas y 3 ventanas" (AIV 1926). [...a room in extremely bad state with two doors and 3 windows.] Here, 63 Rapanui, 32 men and 31 women, studied on different and often irregular days. During the year of 1926, the schoolteachers were Rapanui Mariana Atan and Andrés Chavez and their wages were paid by the Maritime Sub-Delegation.

Another important characteristic of Rapanui social life during this period was its extreme isolation. Beyond the activities of church and school, which gave the Rapanui the possibility of catching a glimpse of foreign life, the indigenous population lived in almost total isolation.⁴ Their isolation, heightened by the inexistence

of communication with the continent and the prohibition of Rapanui leaving the island, accelerated the cases of permanent abuse of the islanders by the authorities (Rapa Nui Work Group 2002).

In spite of the adverse living conditions which the Rapanui endured during these years, the development of a small-scale peasant economy, displaying strong elements of traditional forms of production and exchange, ensured both their subsistence and their capacity to respond to State institutions and the Company. Moreover, the fact that the Company contracted a significant number of workers during the shearing months and fewer during the rest of the year obliged the islanders to diversify and strengthen their family economies.⁵

Between 1917 and 1936, the island's population was divided between three main economic activities: as permanent or temporary workers in the CEDIP, as small scale farmers, livestock ranchers, and fishermen whose production was geared towards self-sufficiency and exchange, and as workers inserted into the diverse State institutions (school, police, and registry office), including domestic workers.⁶ From 1930 onwards, the strengthening of these economic dynamics, underpinned by strong elements of traditional forms of production and exchange, resulted in a considerable increase in maize production, which even became a form of exchange between the islanders.⁷ This meant that in January of 1929 and September of 1930, for example, the quantity of maize produced by the islanders reached 67,314 kilos (valued at 13,462.20 Chilean pesos), the majority of which was cultivated by 29 indigenous families. Many other Rapanui families were involved to a lesser extent in maize production, constantly providing the Company with one or two sacks of maize each month (AIV 1930a:Folio 208).

In addition, the strengthening of family economies was also expressed in increased demands for cultivatable land on behalf of the indigenous Rapanui, an increase in small-scale subsistence fishing, and the exchange of livestock between Rapanui and the CEDIP (AIV 1926:Folios 6 & 12; AIV 1927:Folios 23(12) & 24). Handcrafted goods were used as commodities in exchange for clothes, alcohol and other scarce goods upon the arrival of cargo ships to the island (AIV 1927:Folio 26). These forms of exchange reveal the maintenance of a strong cultural heritage in all aspects of indigenous society, including the preservation of the native language and cultural practices.

At the same time, the striking role played by certain indigenous figures within the island's political system reflected another aspect of the complex social dynamics of the period. A few examples, among many such figures, were Juan Tepano, a political leader and employee of CEDIP, Nicolas Pakarati, a catechist, and a series of Rapanui that were inserted into the State

apparatus and the labor structure of the Company.⁸ The existence of these characters indicated the appearance of a distinctive social sector at the heart of the society, one both directly linked to the colonial presence and expressive of the interests of indigenous society (Moreno Pakarati 2011).

Finally, one of the growing sectors of the population which during those decades became more influential was a generation of *mestizos*, including the children of administrator Percy Edmunds with Rapanui women (Stambuk 2010). The consolidation and influence of this group, linked to merchants, Chileans, and foreign travelers, constituted a social phenomenon which, although present at the beginning of the colonial endeavor, led the Rapanui to develop new attitudes and perspectives in relation to Chilean dominance (Stambuk 2010).

Forms of Indigenous Resistance During the Period 1917-1936

As we have seen, the indigenous community during this period was an enterprising one, involved in multiple economic activities and characterized by the conservation of identity based on language and certain aspects of their kinship system. Similarly, the Rapanui exhibited a striking capacity to appropriate foreign religious influences and re-interpret them according to their own beliefs (Castro Flores 2006; Delsing 2004; Grifferos 1997). Thus, far from constituting a passive community before the depredations of colonial agents, the island's society was characterized by active opposition to the successive attempts to mold them according to the new social and political framework that was enforced following the defeat of the 1914 rebellion.

From the point of view of the colonial authority, the permanent opposition of the Rapanui could be conveniently "explained away" by alluding to the basic norms of "civilized life" which the indigenous population supposedly lacked, as well as to their supposed "natural" tendencies toward "rebellion", "laziness" and "immorality". The Maritime Sub-Delegate Olalquiaga writes:

"Habiendo convivido con los isleños por espacio de 5 meses, he podido conocerlos perfectamente y deducir que son verdaderamente flojos, pues, ésta gente no tiene iniciativas de trabajo ni de progreso, ellos son además inconcientes a todo sentimiento, no saben lo que es amor de madre ni de hijos, y es natural que no contando con los sentimientos primordiales de la vida, no cuentan con nada, ni siquiera con amor propio. Mis estudios profundos y psicológicos fundamentan mis razones de calificarlos de inconcientes, habituados a la flojera, ladrones, calumniadores y revoltosos [...]" (AMM 1936:22).

[Having lived among the islanders for 5 months, I have come to know them perfectly and have deduced that they are truly lazy, since these people lack any work or progress initiatives, moreover they are unconscious of any feeling, unaware of a mother's love for her children, as such it is natural that in lacking the primordial feelings of life, they lack everything, even love for one's self. My rigorous and psychological studies support my conclusions in categorizing them naïve, accustomed to laziness, thieves, slanderous and rebellious...]

Unsurprisingly, one of the principal tasks that Chilean authorities and the Company sought to undertake was to “educate”, “instruct”, and “civilize” the Rapanui, by deploying a series of disciplinary social regulations. Olalquiaga observes in his 1936 report that:

“[...] por mi informe puede imponerse que he dedicado todos mis esfuerzos por el mejoramiento de la población... preocupándome del bienestar de los nativos, tomando medidas disciplinarias, con el objeto de civilizarlos poco a poco [...]” (AMM 1936:21).

[... It is clear from my report that I have dedicated all my efforts to the improvement of the population ... concerning myself with the welfare of the natives, taking disciplinary measures, with the objective of civilizing them gradually...]

Civilization versus resistance, colonial regulation versus indigenous rebellion; this was the context within which the Rapanui political framework developed during these years. Caught between adapting to the precarious “colonial pact” which reflected the “Provisional Temperament” of 1917 and the need to confront the adverse conditions to which they were subjected, the island community exhibited a renewed spirit in the defense of their interests. Consequently, the Rapanui peoples’ development of a permanent strategy of not recognizing the authority of government agencies presented a continuous, and systematic, obstacle for the colonial authorities. Among other things, these practices constituted important antecedents for the emergence of Rapanui civil rights struggles led by Alfonso Rapu in later decades.

Strikes and Insubordination

Strikes and insubordination were some of the clearest forms of indigenous opposition to the island's authorities that emerged during these years. By directly challenging the power structures consolidated after the defeat of the 1914 rebellion, the Rapanui sought to subvert the very foundations of the colonial enterprise. For example, in July 1928, a massive strike broke out among workers of the Company. They demanded improvements in

wage-labor conditions, requesting CLP\$4 per day for men and CLP\$3 per day for women and children. They also demanded an improvement in the daily rations of food, hours of rest, and worker profit-sharing from the shearing.⁹ This is reflected in a letter to Enrique Edmunds from Carlos Recabarren:

“Señor Don Enrique Edmunds. Matavery. Mui Señor mio y amigo: Pongo en conocimiento de Ud. que con fecha 30 de Julio del mes pasado los habitantes de la Isla de Pascua se declararon en huelga, pidiendo aumento de salarios y raciones respectivamente, ál Señor Administrador de la Cia Explotadora Isla de Pascua. Los huelguistas nombraron sus representantes a las siguientes personas: Pedro Atan, Daniel Chavez, Moises Tucki y Nicolás Packomio para que se presentaran a ésta Subdelegación Marítima é hicieran sus reclamos.” (AIV 1928b:Folio 51(26)).

[Mr. Don Enrique Edmunds. Matavery. My dear Sir and friend: I make you aware that on the date 30th of July of the past month the inhabitants of Easter Island declared themselves on strike, asking the Administrator of the Easter Island Exploitation Company for a raise in their salary and rations respectively. The strikers named the following people as their representatives: Pedro Atán, Daniel Chavez, Moises Tucki, and Nicholas Packomio. They presented their case before the Maritime Sub-Delegation and made their demands.]

One of the most outstanding features of the strike was the firmness and commitment with which it was carried out. The Rapanui publicly declared their intention to maintain their position until the administrator accepted all of their demands.¹⁰ In one of the strikers’ declarations, they made clear their disposition to prevent anyone who declined to support the movement from working, by force if needed.

“[...] Los nombrados más arriba [se refiere a los líderes de la huelga] se presentaron á ésta Subdelegación a las 2.P.M del dia 5 de Agosto y espusieron los siguientes puntos. 1er Punto. Mejoramiento de sus jornales, hombres a razon de 4\$ diarios y su ración en café almuerzo, y comida, horas de almuerzo 11 A.M y comidas 5 P.M. 2 Punto. Mejoramiento de sus jornales para los niños y las mujeres 3\$ diarios y sus raciones y horas como los demás hombres. 3 Punto. No entrarán a trabajar ninguna persona, si él Señor Administrador nó acepta nuestra petición. 4 Punto. Para los trabajos de la esquila, que se efectúa en el mes de Octubre y Noviembre, del presente año, se pide por él ciento de ovejunos 10\$ ciento ó 100\$ él mil, con sus respectivas raciones. 5. Punto. Los que quieran trabajar

voluntariamente, los trabajos de la administración y los del campo se opondrán, hásta el último hásta que la Cia arregle definitivamente. 6. Punto. Si la Cia acepta nuestras condiciones y la de todos los habitantes de ésta Isla, queda arreglado y todo el mundo se irá a trabajar tranquilos. 7. Punto. Quedan en ésta Subdelegación las firmas de los representantes de ésta huelga jeneral. Señor Administrador; agradeceré a ud contestar sobre éste particular. Sin otro particular tiene el agrado de saludar a ud su mui [...] y amigo. Carlos A. Recabarrén” (AIV 1928b:Folios 51(26)-52).

[... Those named above [referring to leaders of the strike] presented themselves before the Sub-Delegation at 2 PM on the 5th of August and presented the following demands. 1st condition: Improvement of wages, the right to \$4 a day for men, and a ration of coffee, lunch and food, lunch hours 11 AM and food 5 PM. 2nd condition: Improvement of wages for women and children, \$3 a day wage and the same food rations and hours as the men. 3rd condition: No one is to work if the administrator does not accept our petition. 4th Condition: for shearing workers; to be applied during the months of October and November of the present year, \$10 per hundred or \$100 per thousand is asked per one hundred sheep, including respective rations. 5th condition: Those who want to work voluntarily, both administration work and rural work will be opposed until the Company provides a definite solution. 6th condition: If the Company accepts our conditions and those of all the inhabitants of the island, the agreement will be binding and everyone will go back to work without any fuss. 7th condition: the signatures of all the representatives of the general strike are presented here at the Sub-Delegation. I thank the honorable administrator in advance for answering the particulars mentioned here. With nothing else to add I send my greetings, and friend. Carlos A. Recabarren]

The duration of the strike also demonstrated its strength. Almost two weeks after starting, the workers achieved the first concession from the administrator of the Company: a rise in the daily wage to \$3 a day for the men and \$1.50 a day for women and children. However, unsatisfied with these concessions, some workers radicalized their demands.

“Mui Señor mio y amigo: La presente tiene por objeto de comunicar a Ud. de que hize llamar a los representantes de la huelga y les hize saber su resolución con respecto a sus jornales, y que la Administración aceptaba con gusto dichos jornales. Los representantes, reunieron a la jente en la Plaza para comunicarles; muchos aceptaron el ofrecimiento

de la Cia, para los hombres 3\$ diarios, para las mujeres y niños 1,50 diarios, otros se plantearon en el primer pedido, al contrario aumentando aún más en sus escijencias con respecto a la esquila, 30\$ el cien de corderos, con respecto al fardo 70 c c/ uno. Como el miércoles es día de fiesta, resolvieron contestar para esa fecha, definitivamente [...]” (AIV 1928c:Folio 53(27)).

[My dear sir and friend: I write with the objective of informing you that I have summoned the strike representatives to inform them of your resolution with regard to their wages, and that the administration gladly accepted the conditions. The representatives gathered the people in the square to inform them: many accepted the Company's offer of \$3 per day for men and \$1.50 for women and children, others raising their demands in terms of the shearing, \$30 per one hundred lambs, and 70 cents per bale. Since Wednesday is a festive day, they have agreed to reach a final agreement for this date...]

The Sub-Delegates encountered similar situations when certain ordinances were immediately rejected by the population. In some cases, the responses developed into active confrontations with the authorities, and produced real cases of civil insubordination by the indigenous population. Olalquiaga recounted one of these cases, during the mid-1930s, when he attempted to require the islanders to participate in a census of agricultural activity. Complaining about the “rebellious” nature of the Rapanui, the civil servant narrates the following episode:

“El dia 19 del presente, se congregaron alrededor de 80 nativos en ésta Subdelegación y en conjunto vinieron a protestar de la órden de dar todo los datos para el Censo Agropecuario; después de haberles explicado que era una Ley que todos tenían que cumplir por la fuerza, aunque no lo quisieran, se fueron exaltando, y después de varios insultos que salían de diferentes lados, llegaron en el colmo de su arrebató a decir que el Gobierno y el Subdelegado querían robarles sus animales y todo lo que tenían” (AMM 1936:24).

[On the 19th day of the present month, around 80 natives gathered here at the Sub-Delegation to protest against the order to provide information for the agricultural and livestock census; after having explained to them that everyone was obliged to fulfill the law, even if they didn't want to, they became infuriated and after hurling insults from all sides, the insolence of their outburst led them to say that the Governor and the Sub-Delegate wanted to steal their animals and everything they had.]

Cornered and without the strength to overcome the islanders' resistance, Olalquiaga was forced to admit the impossibility of the census, contradicting orders from his own superiors on the mainland. He wrote that:

“En vista del giro que tomaba el asunto, que al parecer ésta gente se encontraba dispuesta a no ceder y repeler todo ataque, hice que los empadronadores les tomaran los datos a los que quisieran darles, consiguiendo de esta manera los de algunos de ellos [...]” (AMM 1936:20).

[In view of the changes... which seemingly possessed these people not to give up and in order to drive off a full blown attack, I ordered the census officers to take the details of those who were willing to give them, in this way achieving the registration of some of them...]

While a more profound study is needed to establish the frequency of indigenous acts of resistance during these decades, these events are important to outline because they question central elements of colonial power established on Rapa Nui after the indigenous defeat in 1914. In all respects, these events constituted the clearest and most direct challenges that State authorities and the sheep company had to confront during this period, at least until the rise of Rapanui civil rights mobilizations of the 1960s.

Theft

In addition to strikes and the serious outbursts of insubordination, the indigenous population disregarded the authority of colonial powers in other ways, including theft. While not a form of open confrontation with the colonial regime, the proliferation of this particular practice represented a permanent problem for the Maritime Authority and the Company.¹¹ It is worth noting that the main victims were functionaries of the State, the Navy and the CEDIP. As Acuña relates in 1921:

“Los robos cada día con mas descaro, robándose ultimamente 18 piezas del forro de la chalupa de la Subdelegacion; para que se forme una idea U.S. le comunico que me robaron, hasta el cordel del palo de bandera, privándome del único placer que tenia de hizar todos los días festivos la Bandera Nacional.” (AMM 1921a).

[The thefts are increasingly more brazen, with the theft, in the last instance, of 18 pieces of the Sub-Delegate's boat lining; to give you an idea; they even stole the hamstring from the flag pole, denying me my only pleasure of raising the national flag.]

Fifteen years later and referring to this same issue, Olalquiaga commented on how generalized the act of theft had become among the indigenous population, describing at the same time their strategies for concealing the act.

“Este mal del robo es general en todo los isleños, a la igual que los indios, pero con la diferencia que ésta gente suma a su habilidad e ingenio para robar, su idioma, que nadie lo conoce ni nadie se lo entiende, de modo que cuando cometen un delito, se hacen los lesos, no entendiendo lo que se les pregunta y nunca saben nada de lo que no les conviene, pero cuando les conviene, entonces saben todo y entienden todo” (AMM 1936:22).

[Theft is engrained in all the islanders, equal to that of the Indians, with the only difference that these people add to their ingenious ability for thievery their language, which no one knows or understands, so that once a crime has been committed, they are dumbfounded, not understanding what is asked of them and never knowing anything that doesn't suit them, but when it does suit them, then they know everything and understand everything.]

By not attributing strictly criminal tendencies to the thefts, authorities revealed an important measure of Rapanui rebellion and opportunism against the authorities.¹² The case of the well-known “thief”, Felipe Teao, and his decisive manner was also mentioned specifically by Olalquiaga:

“Hecho el reclamo correspondiente el mismo día por Ines Teao [...] llamé a Felipe Teao y le pedí me explicara el cargo que se le hacía, a lo que inmediatamente me confesó que esto lo había hecho [el robo de un corte de género] para que yo no lo dejara salir en libertad [debido a que como recluso tenía asegurada su alimentación y otras garantías]. En consideración a su nueva falta y a su confesión espontánea [...] le condené a 15 días mas de prisión, siempre con trabajo forzado, pena que cumplió con un buen comportamiento. Al terminar me pidió que lo dejara en la Subdelegación, a lo que accedí gustoso, dejándolo de ordenanza de la Subdelegación, con \$20 mensuales, pero a los 15 días de haberlo tenido como empleado, me vi en la necesidad de despedirlo, a causa de que durante su permanencia como empleado, se llevó un recipiente de fierro enlozado y un balde de pertenencia de esta Subdelegación, por lo cual firmó compromiso de devolver ó pagar estas especies [...] Aparte de todo y no satisfecho este individuo con todas las faltas cometidas, en la noche del día 3 de Febrero se presentó al Guardian Casas y al Marinero

Jara, diciéndoles que yó le había mandado para que se sacara un traje de loneta de la sala de la Escuela, y el Domingo 9, a la salida de misa en la Plaza “Libertad”, en presencia de mis subalternos y de muchos nativos, me confirmó lo dicho, que era verdad que yó lo había mandado a ello. Ante tan grave calumnia, le hice apresar y lo puse en el calabozo, de donde se fugó esa misma noche, llevándose entre otras especies, un par de pantalones de loneta, sin que hasta la fecha sepa yó donde se encuentra y nadie quiera dar razones de él [...] aunque yo he sabido que anda en el pueblo y aún ha mandado solicitar permiso para salir a pescar” (AMM 1936:6-7).

[Having received the corresponding claim on the same day by Ines Teao... I called Felipe Teao and asked him to explain the charge pressed against him to which he immediately confessed responsibility [for the theft of a cut of cloth] so as not to be set free [seeing as a prisoner he was provided with food and assured other guarantees]. In view of his offence and his spontaneous confession... I condemned him to 15 more days in prison, with forced labor, a punishment he completed with good behavior. At the end of his term he asked me to keep him at the Sub-Delegation, which I gladly accepted, keeping him with the Sub-Delegation's ordnance of \$20 monthly, but after 15 days of his services I saw it necessary to fire him, the cause being that during his stay as a worker, he took a glazed iron flask and a bucket belonging to the Sub-Delegation, items which he promised to return or pay costs... Furthermore, on the night of the 3rd of February, not being satisfied with the offences he had committed, he presented himself to the Caretaker Casas and the Sailor Jara, saying that I had sent him to retrieve a sailcloth suit from the school hall, and on Sunday the 9th, upon leaving Mass in “Liberty” Square and in the presence of my subordinates and many natives, he confirmed the latter, saying verily that I had sent him to that effect. Before such a grave slander, I had him arrested and put him in prison from where he escaped that same night, taking with him among other items a pair of sail cloth trousers, which until the present day I have been unable to trace and nobody is willing to testify his whereabouts... even though I know he is somewhere in the town having even applied for a fishing permit.]

The arrival of ships to the island presented another auspicious opportunity for theft, mainly targeting the ship's marines. As Olalquiaga describes:

“El día 14 de Febrero recaló en ésta el Transporte “Maipo”, y como es costumbre de los isleños, llegando cualquier barco, van a cambiar sus toromiro,

camotes ó plátanos, por ropas, cigarrillos, comestibles ó licores, pero muchos otros van a aprovechar las aglomeraciones que se producen a bordo, para substraerse lo que pueden, como sucedió en esta ocasión, cuyos protagonistas fueron Miguel Teao, Felipe Chavez y Gabriel Tuko.” (AMM 1936:8).

[On the 14th day of February the “Maipo” put into port, and as is custom of the islanders upon the arrival of any ship, they approach to exchange woodcarvings, sweet potato, bananas for clothes, cigarettes, food and liquor, but many others go to take advantage of the large gatherings produced aboard, to take what they can, as was the case on this occasion and whose protagonists were Miguel Teao, Felipe Chavez and Gabriel Tuko.]

Finally, livestock theft figured as one of the most frequent forms of robbery, and one that damaged the Company's interests. On certain occasions, those robberies even involved the complicity of foremen and the police, who often had family ties to the perpetrators.

“Se presentó un denuncia de robo de un cordero a la Cia. E. I. de Pascua con fecha 2 de Agosto; inmediatamente el Sr. Administrador me dio el aviso por teléfono, que su capataz Alberto Paoa sabía quien era y que por ser su pariente nó comunicaba á él lo sucedido. Ese aviso lo hizo él Sr. Prefecto a la Cia, dandole el aviso en la tarde del día 20, sin pasar a la Subdelegación Maritima [...] Llamé a mi oficina, al Capataz, Alberto Paoa y a Isaías Fatti [...] quién era el ladrón, según el denuncia y a quién el capataz apollava [...] a Pedro Atan y Sra; [...] a Hotus y a Marta Paoa de Fatti. Todos declararon que nó había robo y que lo único que se trataba era cuestión de celo entre Inés de Atan y Marta Paoa de Fatti [...]” (AIV 1930b:Folios 169(97)-170).

[The theft of a lamb was reported to the Company E.I. of Easter Island on the 2nd of August; the Administrator immediately informed me over the telephone, that his foreman Alberto Paoa knew who was responsible, but because he was a family member could not tell him what had happened. The report was transmitted by the Prefect to the Company, on the afternoon of the 20th day, without attending the Maritime Sub-Delegation... I summoned the foreman, Alberto Paoa and Isaías Fatti to my office..., who according to the charges was the thief and aided by the foreman... by Pedro Atan and his wife; ... by Hotus and by Marta Paoa Fatti. All present declared that there had never been a robbery and that jealous rivalry between Ines Atan and Marta Paoa Fatti was all the event was about ...]

While it is unclear whether the episode actually dealt with the theft of livestock or a domestic squabble, this incident highlights the high incidence of animal theft, and illustrates the high levels of mistrust on behalf of the authorities with respect to the indigenous Rapanui, including those who, like the foreman, occupied positions of responsibility within the Company.

Insubordination and Disobedience

One of the central concerns of the State authorities and the Company was the implementation of a series of ordinances designed to control the daily lives of the indigenous population. These had as their objective the regimentation of the lives of Rapanui inhabitants – categorized as “thieves”, “rebellious”, and “lazy” – in order to force the inhabitants to abandon their “bad habits” and reach a “civilized” condition in their activities, beliefs and morale. With this in mind, Chilean functionaries deployed a series of disciplinary strategies on the indigenous population that ranged from coercive measures, including prohibitions, restrictions, and punishments, to others aimed at co-opting the island’s population. Beyond the already known restrictions on free circulation, navigation and the strict rules that prevented the Rapanui from leaving the island, these measures also included coercive strategies that prevented the indigenous peoples from walking the streets of Hanga Roa after nine at night and obliged them to perform “community work” – called “fiscal Mondays”.¹³ On top of that, fines were charged for failing to adhere to hygiene and cleanliness norms, and punishments were dealt out that ranged from forced labor, to whipping, and the shackling of prisoners.¹⁴

The colonial institutions also spearheaded attempts to co-opt islanders, by attempting to feed a feeling of national identity among the islanders in the hopes of creating a framework for social consensus between the authorities and the indigenous population.¹⁵ Certain spaces of indigenous participation, under the watchful eye of the Maritime Sub-Delegation, were created in the school and the church. These included the creation of whistle bands made up of students who performed at public events, awards ceremonies for the most accomplished students, urbanization plans, the construction of houses for indigenous families, and the election of municipal and religious event representatives (AIV 1926:Folios 16 & 18; AIV 1927:Folio 39(20); AMM 1936:12).

However, even within this context, the island’s authorities were not at liberty to confront the obstinacy of the islanders. When considered together, the emergence of strikes, insubordination, and the simultaneous and constant robberies, mainly of livestock, represented a tenacious resistance on the part of indigenous communities to the disciplinary measures of control implemented by the State and Company institutions.

Through cunning practices, the indigenous community even came to take advantage of the internal divisions of colonial power, thereby subverting it. Olalquiaga states:

“Los nativos bien confiados en el gran apoyo que tienen en los Srs. Oficiales y comandantes de buques, que todo reclamo acompañado de calumnias que hacen en contra del Subdelegado, es oído y creído, no quieren obedecer las órdenes que imparte la Subdelegación, haciendo ver que ellos no cumplen otra orden que la que les dijo el papá comandante” (AMM 1936:24).

[The natives are trusting in the great support they have in the officials and commanders of the Navy, where all their grievances and slanderous complaints against the Sub-Delegation are heard and believed, and as a result refuse to obey the orders of the Sub-Delegation, saying that they will not receive orders other than those received from their *father* commander.]

The Sub-Delegate Recabarran expressed a similar opinion a few years earlier, manifesting his discontent over the obstinate lack of discipline among the indigenous Rapanui:

“[...] hay que decir la verdad de las cosas; esta jente abusa de más, nó se contenta con lo que se le dá, sino que quieren más y se hacen mal unos con otros, molestando á cada momento a ésta oficina; y muchos de ellos con atropellos etc [...] Hay varias personas, que ni piden permisos sacan terrenos y abusan demás. Lo que se necesita aquí son carabineros para hacer cumplir órdenes” (AIV 1929c:Folio 58-59(30)).

[... The truth must be told; these people take advantage, they are discontent with what is given to them, and demand more, pitting one against the other and bothering this office at every opportunity; many of them with impatience, etc... there are many people who take land, not even bothering to apply for permits all the while demanding even more. What is needed here is a police force to impose law and order.]

Moreover, many of the decrees issued during this period were simply ignored by the island’s inhabitants. An example can be seen in the constant complaints of the island’s State, and church, functionaries of the “bad examples” that many “adulterous” Rapanui couples were setting and which the authorities sought unsuccessfully to regulate. As the Sub-Delegate Acuña mentioned in one of his reports to the continent:

“Tengo el honor de informar a U.S., que la moral y conducta de los naturales de esta, deja mucho que

desear debido tan solo a la falta de policía para hacer cumplir el Reglamento vigente. Los matrimonios que en nota anterior dí cuenta a U.S., siguen separados como si el adulterio no fuese un delito castigado por la ley” (AMM 1921a).

[I have the honor of informing you that the conduct and morals of the natives leaves much to be desired due to the lack of police to enforce the legislation currently in force. The married couples that I mentioned in a previous correspondence to you are still separated, as though adultery was not an offence punishable by law.]

Fifteen years later, Olalquiaga still lamented the unsuccessful attempts of the authorities to remedy this “ill”, and even appealed to the islanders themselves to reach a solution to the problem.

“[...] En vista de la situación por que atraviesan estos matrimonios, que juntamente con ser impropia, es hasta inmoral en algunos casos donde existen niños de cierta edad en que ya se dan cuenta de los malos actos de sus padres, que siendo casados viven públicamente los hombres con otras mujeres y las mujeres con otros hombres, comprendí que era necesario arreglar esta situación [...] En vista del fracaso de mis propósitos, procedí a nombrar para que consiguieran de unir los matrimonios en desacuerdo, una Junta de conciliación, ó sea una Junta de hombres buenos, recayendo este nombramiento en las personas mas serias, de mayor edad y mayor respeto [...] La labor desarrollada por esta Junta, fue nula, la lucha por conseguir el objetivo que se deseaba, fue estéril [...]” (AMM 1936:12).

[... In view of the situation experienced by these marriages, which are not only improper, but even immoral in those cases involving children of a certain age and who are aware of the deplorable acts of their parents; seeing as married men live openly with other women and women with other men, I saw it necessary to find a solution to the problem... in view of my objectives’ failures, I proceeded to name a reconciliation council in an attempt to reunite the marriages in disagreement, that is to say a council of good men, choosing in particular, respectable individuals of a mature age... the effort undertaken by this council came to nothing, and the fight for the desired objectives, proved unproductive...]

The Rapanui responded similarly to another of Olalquiaga’s decrees, produced on the occasion of the killing of livestock by dogs, which the Company claimed belonged to indigenous peoples. They ignored

the orders of the Sub-Delegate and refused to kill or hand over the dogs:

“En vista de este nuevo denuncia de la Compañía, sus determinaciones, y la resistencia de los nativos para entregar o matar los perros, les llame a todos a la Subdelegación a cuya citación no asistió nadie, viéndome obligado el Domingo ha hablarles en la Plaza “Libertad” a las 10 de la mañana, haciéndoles comprender en forma terminante, que aprobaba en todas sus partes la resolución de la Compañía, a la que se hacía solidaria esta Subdelegación y que a partir de esa fecha, la Subdelegación no le daría permiso a nadie para salir a pescar, mientras no terminaran los nativos con todos los perros [...]” (AMM 1936:6).

[In view of these new charges pressed by the Company, the determination, and resistance of the natives to hand over or kill the dogs, I summoned them all to the Sub-Delegation, however they never turned up at the meeting, obliging me to talk to them on Sunday in “Liberty” Square at 10 in the morning, making them understand completely, that I approved the Company’s resolution in all its parts, and which the Sub-Delegation also supports, that from this day onwards, the Sub-Delegation will ban all fishing permits, until the natives deal with those dogs...]

Further manifestations of indigenous disobedience can be seen in the relations of production. Here, the Rapanui were capable of confronting the western economic model with their own practices of production and exchange, influenced by ancient cultural traditions.¹⁶ In this sense, the preservation of their cultural heritage constituted, among other things, an important challenge to the establishment of work regimes that had been designed in accordance with the criteria of modern economic organization that Chilean functionaries and the Company wanted to impose.

“Es algo innato en los nativos el no trabajar, pues están tan habituados a la flojera, que si tienen 10 hectareas de terreno, siembran solo 3, lo suficiente para tener un poco de maíz, camotes y platanos, agregándole unas pocas sandías, todo lo cual es lo suficiente y lo necesario para todo el año, ayudados por cierto, con las higuieras de las calles, porque hay días que estas gentes no comen otra cosa que brevas [...] Sobre el vestuario, no se preocupan, porque saben que se los regalan ó se los envía la Marina del Continente [...] ahora si desean una novedad, cigarrillos ó licores que les gusta en exeso, lo cambian por monos [se refiere a figuras talladas], platanos o camotes, obteniendo de esta manera lo extraordinario que desean.” (AMM 1936:22).

[Unwillingness to work is inherent in the natives, since they are so accustomed to laziness that were they to have ten hectares of land, they would sow only three, enough to grow a bit of maize, sweet potato and bananas, adding some watermelon, all of which is enough for the whole year, helped of course by the figs in the streets, because there are days that these people only eat figs... Neither are they worried about clothing, since they know these are sent as gifts by the Navy on the continent... when in want of some novelty, such as cigarettes and alcohol, which they excessively indulge in, they obtain what they desire by exchanging them for monkeys [carved figures], bananas, or sweet potato.]

However, in the same document, State functionaries recognized that the Rapanui capacity to develop successful and productive commercial activities afforded them not only subsistence but also a not inconsiderable surplus.

“[...] en conformidad a las estadísticas mensuales pasadas por la Compañía, puedo decir que las entradas en dinero efectivo que perciben los nativos en el año, por capítulo de sueldos, jornales, maíz, etc., etc., alcanza a CINCUENTA MIL PESOS (\$50000.), de los cuales invierten en la Compañía en azúcar, té, arroz, harina, etc., etc., la suma de TREINTA MIL PESOS (30000.), porque ésta gente para alimentarse, emplean pescado, plátanos, camotes y otros artículos que no les cuesta nada, como así mismo la ropa para vestirse se las mandan de regalo, y sus vicios los adquieren cambiándolos por monos [se refiere a figuras talladas], de manera que no tienen en qué gastar todo el dinero que perciben durante todo el año. En vista de todos estos cálculos y por varias otras razones, puedo asegurar a US. que hay muchos nativos que tienen bastante dinero guardado, lo que deja de manifiesto que ésta gente no es pobre ni necesitada, así que esa obra caritativa que se cree hacer enviándoles ropas y regalos, es preciso que se sepa, que con ello no se consigue otra cosa, que fomentarles el vicio de la flojera y el robo [...]” (AMM 1936:31).

[... In line with the monthly statistics compiled by the Company, I can say that the income in cash the natives receive per year, accounting for salaries, wages and corn, etc., etc., reaches FIFTY THOUSAND PESOS (\$50,000), of which they invest THIRTY THOUSAND (\$30,000) in sugar, tea, rice, flour, etc., etc., in the Company, because these people in order to feed themselves, use fish, bananas, sweet potato and other produce which does not cost them anything, even the clothes they use to dress themselves are sent to them as gifts, and their vices are obtained by exchanging monkeys [carved figures], so that they

have nothing to spend their earnings on during the whole year. In view of these calculations and for other reasons, I can assure you that there are many natives who have a considerable amount of money saved, which provides proof that these natives are neither wanting nor poor, as a result it is necessary to underline that the charitable enterprise of sending them clothes and gifts only succeeds in encouraging them to the vice of laziness and thievery...]

What benefits or incentives would the Rapanui have obtained had they accepted the levels of productivity, and the work discipline, which the authorities wished to impose? If we accept the above information as correct, the answer is none. As we have seen on other occasions and in a variety of areas, the island's community members demonstrated sharp intelligence and a practical intuition in defense of their own interests.

Conclusions

The 1914 rebellion of Angata was a direct confrontation against the consolidation of the colonial presence on Rapa Nui. As a product of this rebellion and the need to spearhead a new “colonial pact” between the State, the Rapanui, and the Company, the government established the nominally independent Maritime Sub-Delegate for CEDIP in 1915. At the same time, the “Provisional Temperament,” signed in 1917, represented an important change in the framework of the island's existing social relations.¹⁷

The emergence of a more complex political system on Rapa Nui took on greater relevance during these decades. In contrast to the previous period that was characterized by a centralized apparatus of colonial power with a single political head, during these decades power split into two branches: the economy and political administration, with their respective charges represented in the administration of the CEDIP and the Maritime Sub-Delegation. These two branches supported and fed each other; the Sub-Delegation acting as the agent for the regulation of social relations and as the guarantor of the smooth functioning of the economic system, and the Company administration, at the same time, exerting a paternalistic authority over State institutions.¹⁸

From the perspective of the indigenous population, the workings of State institutions were a direct exercise of power, whether implemented through the Sub-Delegates, Navy missions, or the rest of the island's State institutions. In contrast to the previous period where power had been concentrated in the CEDIP administrator and the influence of the Company, during these years the true epicenter of colonial power on Rapa Nui appeared as “power behind power”. In other words, from then on the power of CEDIP was hidden behind

State functionaries who operated with the approval of the administrator, and behind the supposedly fair framework of wage-labor relations of production established between the business and the Rapanui. As a result, the Company was able to disassociate itself from its previous responsibilities of governing the island, and instead, was able to concentrate on its main objective: the economic exploitation of the island and its inhabitants. All of this not only made it more difficult for the Rapanui to identify who was responsible for their intense oppression in the Company, which not only presented itself as a “social institution” that offered work and commercial opportunities for a large part of the population, but also played an important role in preventing a new social revolt such as the one in 1914.

Despite this, the indigenous population was not only capable of spearheading a profitable economic enterprise, but also of assuring their own subsistence and a significant level of economic independence, regardless of State institutions and the Company. Equally, the island’s inhabitants were capable of preserving and promoting a rich cultural heritage which can be seen in the maintenance of their native language and a good number of indigenous cultural practices. Similarly, the adaptive capacity of the Rapanui to respond to the new conditions and ongoing and complex social relations was reflected in the prominent roles acquired by certain indigenous figures within a series of institutional spaces: the Sub-Delegation, the police, the Company and the church, etc.¹⁹

Moreover, while caught between adapting to the situation imposed by the precarious “colonial pact” constituted by the “Provisional Temperament” in 1917 and the need to confront the adverse conditions to which they were subject, the island community, once again, renewed efforts in defense of their interests. The growth of practices that negated the recognition of authorities, such as rebellion, livestock theft, insubordination, and strikes, represented a continuous challenge to the workings of colonial power.

In some cases, the very precariousness of the island’s institutional structure and the existence of significant social tensions between the indigenous community and the colonial agents stimulated the Rapanui to organize forms of resistance which led them to a simultaneous confrontation with both authorities of colonial power: the State and the Company. This was the case, for example, during the general strike of 1928. During these episodes, while confronting the unity of the State-Company duo, the indigenous population even came to threaten – albeit in a partial and limited sense – one of the main pillars of the colonial presence on Rapa Nui: livestock profits.

At the same time, an incipient process that integrated the Rapanui population under the framework of the Chilean State began to roll onward. State institutions, as well as the support given to the CEDIP and the Catholic

Church, all played important roles in the development of this process.²⁰ Another significant factor contributing to this was the role played by the group of islanders mentioned above, who, collaborating closely with State institutions or the Company, came to act as real mediators between the population and the authorities.

To summarize, while the forms of resistance deployed by the Rapanui during the period 1917-1936 did not reach the intensity of previous decades, they represented, at any rate, a clear obstacle to the advancement of colonial power. At the same time, these forms of resistance, post-Angata rebellion, constitute not only an important antecedent to the struggles for Rapanui civil rights led by Alfonse Rapu in later decades, but also represent a distant, but vital, referent for the recent struggles for justice which this indigenous community has led in demand of their land and national sovereignty.

Notes

1. *La Compañía Explotadora de Isla de Pascua*, hereafter referred to as “CEDIP,” or the “Company.”
2. For examples of recent works, see, for example: Castro Flores 2006; Foerster 2010, 2011; Moreno Pakarati 2011; Pakarati 2010, 2011; Stambuk 2010.
3. Medical work was undertaken, during these years, by successive “practitioners” who established themselves on Rapa Nui as Navy functionaries.
4. During these years this institution successfully played an important educative role, coming to consolidate the influence acquired during the years of the first missions. The Sub-Delegate enthusiastically mentions: “without any exception, they are a good and religious people who attend Church every Sunday and on festive days. They come clean and it is a pleasure to see their devotion and respect in the house of God” (AIV 1926:Folio 16).
5. The preservation of Rapanui economic practices of the traditional type mentioned occurred, even in the context of simultaneous processes of modernization, which affected the island’s economy during these decades.
6. According to the 1929 census, work professions on the island were the following: Maritime Sub Delegate (1), general administrators (2), workers (4), labor (86), farmers (39), foremen (2), teachers (2), servants (1), carpenters (6), cooks (1) and fishermen (18). The total inhabitants in the census come to 384 and were composed of 83 men, 98 women, 106 male children and 97 female children. At the same time the census mentions 14 lepers, 110 infants and 67 school children. The term “labor” possibly refers to essentially domestic tasks (the workers in this case are only women) (AIV 1929a:Folios 60-72).
7. The Rapanui use of maize as a form of exchange connects with the already mentioned process of monetization of the islands economy (Delsing pers. comm. 2012). These crops were used by the Company as food on the pig farms near Mataverí.
8. Among the group of Rapanui close to State functionaries we can mention, apart from Juan Tepano, were Juan Araki, Pedro Atan, Rubén Hotus and Nicolás Pakomio Angata. In the case of islanders close to the CEDIP, the *mestizo* children of the following families stand out: Paoa Bornier, Tuki Kaituoe and from a later date, the children

- of the CEDIP managers: Percy Edmunds and Lachlan Mackinnon with Rapanui women (Moreno Pakarati pers. comm. 2012).
9. This consisted of workers receiving \$10 for every 100 sheep or \$100 for every thousand. It is worth keeping in mind that at the beginning of the 1940s, the Rapanui wages did not reach 100 pesos annually, while on the continent a worker's salary could reach 60 pesos per week (Hotus 2011).
 10. Documents relate the following leaders of the strike: "main strikers are the following people: Moisés Tucki, Nicolas Chavez, Juan Chavez, Andrés Chavez, Timoteo..., Timón Bery Bery, Gabriel Bery Bery, Pedro Atan (Policia), Carlos Teao, Manuel Bery Hito, Nicolás Packomio (Policia), José Paté, Jorje Rirorocko, Juan Aracki, Paté Pablo ..." (AIV 1928b:Folio 52).
 11. The practice of robbery as a form of rebellion and resistance, for example the so called "*cangalla miner*" in the context of early industrialization in the north of Chile during the 19th and 20th centuries, has been a common topic in a series of recent social history case studies in Chile.
 12. In 1929 a list of the main thieves was compiled, identifying the following natives: "[...] José Packarati: long time robber; Pedro Huckle, Enrique Hey, Carlos Teao, Daniel Icka, Bautista Tori, Jorje Teao: Theft of lamb in Angapico; Carlos Teao, Ramon Hey: theft in Mataverí; Alberto Thepije: known robber; Felipe Teao Arancibia (excessive robber); Pedro Ito Ito: spice robber to Esteban Ito" (AIV 1929b:Folio 97(49)).
 13. According to Recabarren, the day's main hours, 8 am, 12 am, and 9 pm, should be announced to the population with a bell, and that transit of Rapanui by night was completely prohibited (AIV 1926:Folio 18-19(10)). The practice of "fiscal Mondays" where Rapanui were obliged to give their unpaid services was institutionalized in the 1930s, and consisted of one obligatory days' work each week (Pakarati 2010).
 14. Recabarren's narrative can be consulted concerning home inspections ensuring that sanitary norms were being maintained by the Rapanui (see AIV 1927:Folio 35(18)).
 15. One of the central concerns of the Maritime authority was the up-keeping of national festivities such as the 21st of May or the 18th of September (see AIV, "Memoria y Balance Jeneral del año 1926", Folios 15(8)-16).
 16. The existence of these traditions presents rich pickings for future anthropological investigation. While seen through the recalcitrant Eurocentric gaze of Olalquiaga's narrative, the weight of these traditions is apparent: "Furthermore, they are ignorant of a mother's love for her children, which are a human being's greatest expression of emotion, which they do not know. The proof of this can be found in that they do not feel sadness when a mother dies, since for them, it is the most natural thing that she had to die, and after her death, they must celebrate with a great *curanto* (a typical roast) of 30 or 40 animals. In relation to the children, they are given to others, as one would gift a valueless dog, which demonstrates the lack of parental sentiments, and when speaking of their own personas, they do not care for themselves at all, even when it comes to feeding themselves, because if today they have no food, tomorrow they will visit some others house and are satisfied with eating sweet potato and bananas" (AMM 1936:22).
 17. Another relevant factor is the application of Law 3220 in 1917, which asserts the jurisdiction of the Valparaíso Maritime Authority over the island, excluding the Rapanui from the constitutional rights applicable to the rest of Chilean citizens.
 18. For a more detailed overview of these points, the forthcoming article can be consulted: "Estado y Compañía Explotadora. Apuntes para una caracterización del poder colonial (1917-1936)".
 19. An interesting article which expands on this point is in preparation by Moreno Pakarati and refers to the role of the Rapanui in the island's police force.
 20. The registration of Rapanui territory as State property in 1933, the declaration of the island as a "historical monument" and its "national park" status in 1935 were all part of this process (see Foerster 2011).

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